



38.

S. Deger-Jalkotzy

Working for the Palace. Some observations on PY An 261

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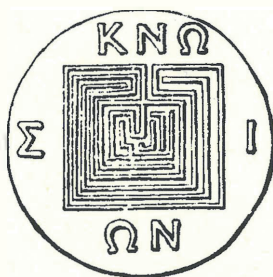
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WORKING FOR THE PALACE: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PY AN 261

My graduate studies from 1970 to 1972 at Cambridge were greatly enriched by the Mycenaean seminars at Laundress Lane where John Killen made his unforgettable performances of firmly data-based interpretations of his favourite Linear B texts. It is with gratitude and admiration that the following contribution is dedicated to him, even if PY An 261 is not a recommendable candidate for a firmly data-based analysis.

As a matter of fact PY An 261 is one of those tantalising Linear B documents which give the impression of containing most valuable information on Mycenaean social structure and economy, but successfully withstand an interpretation by the fact that their key-words are not intelligible or have been damaged. It is therefore not surprising that this text has not evoked many discussions¹.

The *epigraphical* details have been established by E.L.Bennett, Jr. and J.-P. Olivier², by T.G. Palaima³, and recently again by E.L.Bennett, Jr.⁴. PY An 261 was found in Room 8 of the Archive Complex, Grids 13 and 23. This suggests that it had already been stored in the Archive when the palace was destroyed. The tablet was first written by Hand 43 who had also shaped its physical appearance⁵. This scribe wrote the header and the entries of lines .2-17 and left the three bottom lines empty. Then he rotated the tablet and wrote two lines on the *verso* (v.1-2). By their content these two lines pertain to the entries of .10-12 of the *recto*, and it may be assumed that either the scribe had an after-thought or

¹ Apart from early interpretations in *Documents*, pp. 172-173, 421 and *Interpretation*, 228-229, PY An 261 has only been mentioned à propos of (mostly etymological) treatments of *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* and *ke-ro-si-ja* for which we cite the respective entries in *DMic I*, ss.vv. In 1989, the text was analysed in some detail by B. LaForse in his dissertation on *The Meaning of the Mycenaean Words qa-si-re-u, qa-si-re-wi-ja and ke-ro-si-ja* (M.A. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1989). I am grateful to T.G. Palaima for having provided me with a copy of this dissertation.

² *PTT I*, p. 58.

³ *Scribes Pylos*, pp. 45-46, 58, 106-08.

⁴ E.L.Bennett, Jr., «A Selection of Pylos Tablet Texts», *Mykenaiika*, p. 109.

⁵ *Scribes Pylos*, pp. 45-46.

some further information came in after the tablet had already been written. Although lines .18-20 of the *recto* would have held enough space for these two entries, the scribe preferred to write them on the back of the tablet.

Then Hand 1, the principal scribe of Pylos⁶ intervened. On the *recto* he deleted the last four signs of line .1 and replaced them by *ke-tu-wo-e*. Of the original inscription of this line by Hand 43 only *]we* and *ke* have been left, while two or three more signs at the beginning of the line have been broken away. Contrary to the transliteration presented by PTT I, there is no word-divider visible on the extant part of line .17. E.L. Bennett, Jr. now reads *]we-ke ke-tu-wo-e*⁸. However, this reading is not a compelling one as we shall see later on.

On the *verso*, Hand 1 left v.3 *vacat* after v.1-2 written by Hand 43 and then added 5 more entries. Those he divided into two paragraphs by leaving another *vacat* line (v.8) between v.4-7 and v.9. That this division was intentional is confirmed by the *verso* of PY An 616 (now reclassified as Un 616 by E.L. Bennett, Jr.⁹) where Hand 1 had previously¹⁰ written the same text¹¹. An/Un 616 v.1-4 correspond to PY An 261 v.4-7, while on An 261 v.9 the same information can be found as on *latus sinistrum* of PY An/Un 616.

Regarding the *structural analysis* of the text, PY An 261.2-17 and v.1-2 written by Hand 43 have an unvarying format: a man's name in the genitive is followed by the word *ke-ro-si-ja*, then by another man's name in the nominative, and finally by *vir 1*. It is commonly believed that the personal names in the genitive serve to specify the term *ke-ro-si-ja* (= 'the *ke-ro-si-ja* of X.Y.'), while *ke-ro-si-ja* for its part is explained as a *genitivus partitivus* which serves to qualify the individuals listed under the names in the nominative: 'Of the *ke-ro-si-ja* of X.Y: N.N., 1 MAN'. From the fact that the text contains only four separate names in the genitive (r.2-5: *O-two-we-o*; r.6-9: *A-pi-jo-to*; r.10-12 and v.1-2: *Ta-we-si-jo-jo*; r.13-17: *A-pi-qo-ta-o*¹²), it follows that the 18 men listed by their names in the nominative were assigned to or belonged to four *ke-ro-si-*

⁶ *Scribes Pylos*, pp. 35-58, esp. pp. 50-58.

⁷ Cf. the drawings of PY An 261 both by E.L. Bennett, Jr., *The Pylos Tablets. Texts of the Inscriptions found 1939-1954*, Princeton, 1955, p. 29 and by *Scribes Pylos*, fig. 10.

⁸ Bennett *supra*, n. 4, p. 109.

⁹ Bennett *supra*, n. 4, pp. 114-115. Findspot of An/Un 616: Archive Complex Room 8, Grid 44 (= near the partition wall to Room 7), fallen there together with various other tablets of the same scribe (of Cn, Na, Un, Xn Series), as well as with An 607 written by Hand 5.

¹⁰ See *Scribes Pylos*, p. 46, for evidence that PY An/Un 616 *verso* was written earlier than PY An 261 v.4-9.

¹¹ After v.9 the bottom part of the *verso* shows the remains of a sketch which had been there before the ruling of v.3 ff., cf. Bennett *supra*, n. 4; See also *supra*, n. 7.

¹² Although of this name only *a-pi-qo* has been preserved on the *recto*, its restoration is beyond any doubt on account of v.5.

ja, and further that these *ke-ro-si-ja* were groups of men which were each characterised by the name of a man who apparently was at the head of the respective group (to simplify matters we provisionally call these four men 'chiefs'). This view is supported by the four entries of Hand 1 in v.4-7 where *ke-ro-si-ja* is preceded by the same four personal names in the genitive but followed by totals of men. It is therefore clear that these entries refer to the same four *ke-ro-si-ja* and that this term designates a group of men. As has been already stated, Hand 1 transferred the figures from the *verso* of An/Un 616 to our tablet. The totals greatly exceed the number of the men listed individually by Hand 43 on the *recto* of An 261. Moreover the syntax of the entries of Hand 1 remains unclear: *ke-ro-si-ja* either stands for a *genit. part.* as on the *recto*, or it is a nominative. It is therefore not possible to tell whether the totals of v.4-7 embrace *all* members of the respective *ke-ro-si-ja* or if the *ke-ro-si-ja* consisted of still more members who were not listed in this text. On PY An 616 *lat.sin.*, Hand 1 had further counted¹³ 10 men under the term of *ka-ma-e-we*. This information was similarly transferred to An 261 v.9 where it was also set apart from the *ke-ro-si-ja*-entries of v.4-7 by means of the *vacat* line v.8.

PY An 261.1 presumably was the heading of the text which gave the clue to its administrative purpose and qualified the data which it contained. The fact that Hand 1 corrected the last word of this line suggests that either Hand 43 had made an error or the administrative situation which formed the background to the text had changed. On philological grounds I would favour the second explanation. Reference has already been made to the new reading *]-we-ke ke-tu-wo-e* of PY An 261.1. It is in keeping with the fact that the two signs *we* and *ke* which have been left of Hand 43 are of a larger size than the subsequent *ke-tu-wo-e* written by Hand 1 over what he had erased of the original text. However, this reading raises considerable difficulties since *ke-tu-wo-e* cannot be explained in terms of Greek morphology. Nor is it possible to suggest a syntactical connection between its ending *°wo-e* and any word which either was **we-ke* or which ended in *]-we-ke*. By contrast, the former reading *]-we ke-ke-tu-wo-e* agrees perfectly well with Greek morphology and syntax, even if we cannot translate the word. From the outset of studies into the Linear B documents *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* has been explained as the nominative plural masculine of a perf. pple. act.¹⁴, while *]-we* may have been left from the nominative plural of a word in *-eus*¹⁵. As a matter of fact,

¹³ Cf. *Scribes Pylos*, p. 46.

¹⁴ For ref. see *DMic I*, p. 340 s.v.

¹⁵ In principle *]-we* could have also been interpreted as the dative ending of a noun in *-eus*. But by analogy with other Linear B headlines using participial constructions (cf. e.g. PY An 1.1 *e-re-ta...i-jo-te*; PY An 35.1 *to-ko-do-mo de-me-o-te*; PY 724.1 *...e-re-ta a-pe-o-te*) it is more likely that *]-we* in PY An 261 stands for */-wes/*. My thanks are due to Oswald Panagl who discussed with me the linguistic aspects of this text.

according to the drawings of PY An 261 by E.L. Bennett, Jr. and by T.G. Palaima¹⁶, the space between]we and ke- is wider than that between ke- and ke-tu-wo-e. Professor Palaima who kindly checked the photograph of the tablet agrees that this space is sufficient to justify the separation of]we from ke-ke-tu-wo-e¹⁷ and to retain the former reading. Under these premises the following scenario is conceivable: the last word written by Hand 43 on the first line of the tablet started with ke-. When Hand 1 found that it had to be replaced by ke-ke-tu-wo-e, he erased what needed to be erased and kept the already existing ke- for the reduplication. Then he wrote the stem and the ending of the word. As a matter of fact, Hand 43 may well have written a different tense of the same verb with the stem ke-t°- of which ke-ke-tu-wo-e was the perfect participle. If so, Hand 1 did not correct an error of his colleague. He rather entered the masc. perf. pple. act. because the men to whom ke-ke-tu-wo-e refers had finished whatever activity they had been listed for. The administrative purpose of the text had been fulfilled, and PY An 261 was stored in the archive.

Due to the fact that of the two key words ke-ke-tu-wo-e is a hapax and ke-ro-si-ja only occurs here and on An 261 and Cn 616, it is difficult to provide a convincing *interpretation* of PY An 261 or to reveal the administrative purpose of this text. Attempts to explain ke-ke-tu-wo-e have so far been exclusively etymological so that this word can be left aside for the moment.

The meaning of ke-ro-si-ja has been investigated on the basis of contextual evidence, as well. In the first place the personnel of PY An 261 have been examined by prosopographical studies¹⁸. 14 of the 22 names listed in this document have been preserved. Of those, seven¹⁹ or possibly nine²⁰ recur in other contexts. Even if we consider the prosopographer's *caveat* that the same name may well in different contexts point to different individuals, it cannot be mere chance that the names of three of the four ke-ro-so-ja chiefs recur among the smiths of the Jn series of Pylos, on Jn 725 (.5: O-tu-wo-we²¹ and .14: A-pi-jo²²) and

¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, n. 7

¹⁷ By correspondence, 29th March 1999. My thanks go to T.G. Palaima for his help.

¹⁸ M. Lindgren, *People I*; LaForse *supra*, n.1.

¹⁹ O-two-we, A-pi-jo, A-pi-qo-ta, Qo-te-ro (.3), O-wo-to (.7), A₃-so-ni-jo (.13), Tu-ru-we-u (v.2).

²⁰ If the restoration a-]wa-ne-u in An 261.12 (from PY Vn 865.6, cf. *People I*, p. 35) and the identification of A-ra-i-jo of An 261.8 with]-ra-i-jo of Vn 851.14 (LaForse *supra*, n. 1, p. 8) are valid.

²¹ This spelling is an alternative, just as O-to-wo[in An 261.v 7. The name also recurs on Jn 658.7. But this document written by Hand 21 displays so many exclusive correspondences with Jn 725.1-10 (Hand 2) that it was either the preliminary (cf. M. Lang, «Jn Formulas and Groups», *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 407-412) or the final version of the same text cf. *Mémoires II*, pp. 191-94; *Scribes Pylos*, p. 84).

²² This part of Jn 725 is not paralleled by Jn 658.

on Jn 431 (.6: *A-pi-qo-ta*; we shall return later on to the fact that this man is also qualified as *qa-si-re-u*). Moreover, the name of one member of the *A-pi-qo-ta-o ke-ro-si-ja*, *A₃-so-ni-jo* of An 261.13 is found in the company of smiths in Jn 310.3 and in Jn 706.11. Although the name of the fourth *ke-ro-si-ja* chief **Ta-we-si-jo* does not occur outside of PY An 216 and An/Un 616 *verso*, this man perhaps was also connected with the personnel of the Jn series. The name of one of his men (*Tu-ru-we-u*, An 261 v.2) recurs in Cn 254.1 as that of a shepherd in *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. This same tablet has the name of *A-ko-to-wo* (Cn 254.9) who for his part recurs in Jn 431.4 among the smiths around *A-pi-qo-ta*. As a matter of fact, several other smiths of this group also turn up in the Cn series²³, and the clusters of these names on Cn 45, Cn 436 and Cn 600 suggest that at least in some cases the people must have been identical²⁴. In view of this evidence it is further possible to suggest that *Qo-te-ro* of An 261.3 who was a member of *O-two-we-we-o ke-ro-si-ja* may have been the same man who, according to PY Ae 108, worked as a goatherd for *Ta-ra-ma-ta* whose flocks according to PY Ae 134 were kept again in *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. This interconnection is perhaps further supported by Vn 851 where *Ta-ra-ma-ta* (line .3) and *O-two-we* (line .9) are listed in the same context.

The recurrences of a personal name in various documents and in different contexts has always set a severe methodological problem to the identification of people mentioned in the Linear B texts. No general line has been adopted among Mycenologists whether or not, or under what conditions a personal name mentioned in different contexts may be accepted as referring to one and the same person²⁵. But even the most sceptical authors cannot ignore the many overlappings of smiths' names within the Jn series itself, as well as between the Jn and the Cn texts²⁶. This is not the time or place to dwell on this matter. Suffice it to refer to the extreme centralisation of the Mycenaean palace system, as well as to the palaces' excessive demand of services of all kinds to be rendered by their subjects²⁷. These conditions must have led to a considerable mobility of the general working force²⁸ and consequently may well have formed the

²³ Cf. M. Lejeune, «Les Forgerons de Pylos», *Historia* 10, 1961, pp. 409-434; M. Lang, «Pylian Place-Names», *Studies Bennett*, pp. 185-212.

²⁴ *Ko-tu-ro*: Jn 431.2 - Cn 436.6; *Qe-ta-ko*: Jn 431.3 - Cn 45 *lat.inf.*; Cn 600.14; *A-ko-to-wo*: Jn 431.4 - Cn 45.8 and Cn 254.9; *A-ta-tu-ro*: Jn 431.10 - Cn 436.2; *82-*de*: Jn 431.12 - Cn 600.15.

²⁵ For a very cautious approach cf. *People I*. For a more optimistic attitude cf. Lang *supra*, n. 23.

²⁶ See *Mémoires II*, pp. 186-187; *People II*, p. 67.

²⁷ S. Deger-Jalkotzy, «On the Negative Aspects of the Mycenaean Palace System», *Atti Roma-Napoli*, pp. 715-728.

²⁸ On this point cf. P. de Fidio, «L'artigianato del bronzo nei testi micenei de Pilo», *Klio* 71, 1989, pp. 7-27, esp. p. 27, with ref. to analogous conditions in the ancient Near East.

background of prosopographical overlappings between texts relating to different occupations, as well as to a variety of place-names.

M. Lejeune has counted 270 smiths listed in the Jn texts, and there must have been considerably more²⁹, even if we reckon that some names occur more often than once. It does not seem likely that all of these men worked full-time in their trade. It is therefore well conceivable that other services, too, were incumbent upon them such as the responsibility of the palaces' flocks that were kept in the environs of the region where the smiths worked. From the Ma and Na series it also appears that the smiths were normally expected to deliver agricultural products to the central administration. Several names of Jn smiths moreover recur in texts which relate to Pylos itself. Confining ourselves to the personnel of An 261 we mention two colleagues of *O-two-we* in Jn 725, *O-nase-u* (Jn 725.4 - An 1281.5) and *Wo-wi-ja-ta* (Jn 725.7 - An 172.1). *O-two-we* himself not only recurs in An 261 as chief of a *ke-ro-si-ja*, but also among the people listed in Vn 851.9. These doublets seem to suggest that some smiths were summoned to Pylos where they worked in the palace's workshops. It is, however, doubtful if in Jn 431.13 and in An 192.2 the name *A-e-ri-go* refers to the same man³⁰, and *Qe-ta-ko* of Cn 1287.4 — a text associated with the NE workshop at Pylos — may have been distinguished by his designation *ke-ra-me-u* from the smith of Jn 431.3.

Names of smiths of the Jn texts also recur among the landholders of *pa-ki-ja-ne*³¹. However, with regard to An 261 homonyms cannot be excluded. It does not seem likely that *A-tu-ko* of 725.7 was the same man as the *e-te-do-mo wa-na-kate-ro* of Eo 211.2/En 609.5 who had the same name but who held an office at the central administration. The name of *Ne-qe-u* who was associated with *A-pi-jo* in Jn 725.14 recurs in Eb 495/Ep 613.1-2 as *ne-qe-u e-da-e-u* who held a large *ka-ma*-type piece of land at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, and the same man is named in Qa 1298. Moreover Aq 64.15 refers to a *ne-qe-u e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* who shared his patronymic with the *e-qe-ta a-re-ku-tu-ro-wo* of An 654.7-9. *Ne-qe-u e-da-e-u* and *ne-qe-u e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* most probably refer to the same person who, on the evidence of Qa 1298 and Aq 64, must have been active in a region outside of Pylos. It is, however, uncertain if he also was the smith of Jn 725. The name

²⁹ It may be supposed that the extant texts of the series do not represent the full documentation (cf. also *People II*, p. 67) but the estimates diverge. Lejeune *supra*, n. 23, 186, pp. 194-195, believes that one third of this series is missing. M. Lang, *supra*, n. 21, p. 406 suggests that the survival rate was 80-90%. *People II*, p. 204, calculates that the number of smiths recorded in this series was between 358 (max.) and 311 (min.).

³⁰ On the special status of the people listed in An 192 cf. *People II*, p. 178.

³¹ Lejeune *supra*, n. 23, p. 187: out of the 65 personal names of the Jn series which recur in other texts about one sixth relate to landholding records of the E tablets.

of *Ko-tu-ro₂* of *A-pi-qo-ta*'s group (Jn 431.2) also recurs in Cn 436.6 and may be taken as referring to the same man, as we have seen. However, the name also recurs as that of a *ka-ma-e-u* in Eb 839/ Ep 613.13, as well as in Eb 893/Ep 301.13 as that of a *ko-to-no-o-ko*, and both designate the same man. In this case identity with the man of Jn 431 and Cn 436 seems most unlikely. A cross-reference with the landholders of the Ea series is possibly provided by Jn 725.15 by a man of the group of *A-pi-jo*: *E-u-me-ne* recurs in Ea 757 and Ea 822 in connection with /*damos*/land.

The topographical setting of the smiths around *O-two-we*, *A-pi-jo*, *A-pi-qo-ta* and *A₃-so-ni-jo* of An 261 is indicated by the place names *a-pe-ke-e* (Jn 431), *e-ni-pa-te-we* (grouped together with *a-ke-re-wa* in Jn 725), *pa-to-wo-te* (Jn 706) and *a-ke-re-wa* (Jn 310). The above mentioned cross-references to texts particularly of the Cn series suggest that other activities took them to some regions of the Further Province, as well³². It has further already been mentioned that *Tu-ru-we-u* (An 261 v.2) and in all likelihood *Qo-te-ro* (An 261.3) had a geographical background in *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. Finally the seventh recurrence of a name left readable on An 261 again leads into this general area: the name of *O-wo-to* of An 261.7 is entered against *sa-ri-no-te*³³ in Vn 130.6.

On the other hand, the text of An 261 certainly concerns Pylos itself, and the same is true of Vn 851 where *O-two-we* is listed in line .9. In Vn 851.14, *ḫra-i-jo* is named who, according to B. LaForse, was the same man as *A-ra-i-jo* of An 261.8. Finally *A-wa-ne-u* of Vn 865.6 was possibly identical with *ḫwa-ne-u* of An 261.12³⁴. That is to say that the 18 people listed in An 261 plus the *ke-ro-si-ja* chief *O-two-we* were actually present at Pylos, just like several smiths of the Jn series who recur in texts which refer to Pylos itself and whom we have mentioned above.

L.R. Palmer³⁵ and B. LaForse³⁶ in his wake have argued for a strong association of the men of PY An 261 with bronzeworking. Three (or perhaps all four, cf. above on **Ta-we-si-jo*) *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs were smiths, and the same is true of *A₃-so-ni-jo*. If the text of Vn 130 indeed refers to bronze vessels, *O-wo-to* would be another bronzeworker. *O-two-we*, chief of a *ke-ro-si-ja* is further listed on the tablet Vn 851.9 which deals with whatever is meant by the heading *de-mi-ni-ja*³⁷. Although Vn 851 was found in the Archive Complex (Room 8 Grid

³² Cf. Cn 45.8: *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*; Cn 600.14-15: *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*; Cn 254.6: *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

³³ A. Sainer, «An Index of the Place Names at Pylos», *SMEA* 17, 1976, p. 57.

³⁴ Lindgren, *People* I, p. 35, seems to be positive about the reconstruction of the name.

³⁵ *Interpretation*, pp. 228-229.

³⁶ LaForse *supra*, n. 1.

³⁷ Interpretations of this term compiled in *DMic* I, p. 166 s.v.

23) it is associated by its scribe (Hand 12) with An 1281 and by the term *de-mi-ni-ja* with the sealing Wr 1326, both found in the NE workshop and hence connected with bronzeworking³⁸. This link seems to be underlined by the fact already mentioned that An 1281 also contained the name of *O-na-se-u*, one of the smiths mentioned together with *O-two-we* in Jn 725. Furthermore if *A-ra-i-jo* of An 261.8 was indeed identical with *Jra-i-jo* of Vn 851.14 (*supra*, p. 71) the same would apply to him. If moreover *A-]wa-ne-u* is the correct reconstruction of *]wa-ne-u*³⁹ in An 261.12, this man was listed among shipbuilders (*na-u-do-mo*) in Vn 865.6 and therefore may have also been a bronzeworker. *Qo-te-ro* of An 261.3 and *Tu-ru-we-u* of An 261 v.2 were herdsmen, but as we have seen this occupation went well along with that of a smith.

Thus the claim of a 'craftsman' context for the personnel of An 261 is a strong one, particularly in view of the chiefs of *ke-ro-si-ja* who figure among the Jn smiths. However, the geographical background of these people is equally suggestive. Seven out of fourteen, i.e. 50% of the names which are still readable on An 261, refer to a general region which may be described as stretching between the Hither and the Further Province at *a-ke-re-wa* level⁴⁰. It is very likely that this area was the homeland of these people among whom there were no less than three *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs, and even **Ta-we-si-jo*, chief of the fourth *ke-ro-si-ja*, may have originated from there as we have seen. It may be added that the name of *Ku-te-re-u* (An 261.6, member of *A-pi-jo-to ke-ro-si-ja*) was perhaps related to *ku-te-re-u-pi* which in PY An 607.2 seems to indicate a location probably of the Further Province, on account of the large amount of flax listed in Na 296⁴¹.

As a first step towards a definition of *ke-ro-si-ja* we therefore observe that this term designates a group of men who were at home in a provincial region of the Kingdom of Pylos. The same seems to have been true of the men at the head of the *ke-ro-si-ja* to whom we have provisionally applied the designation 'chief'.

A second step is provided by the prosopographical detail that one of these chiefs, *A-pi-qo-ta* figures as a *qa-si-re-u* in Jn 431.6. In recent years, an almost universal agreement has been achieved that this title did not refer just to an industrial functionary⁴² or to a 'supervisor', 'state comptroller'⁴³ but that *qa-si-re-u* designated a *dignitary* who operated at the local level of the political and social

³⁸ *Scribes Pylos*, p. 75; cf. I. Tegye, «The Northeast Workshop at Pylos», *Pylos Comes Alive*, pp. 65-79.

³⁹ Cf. *supra*, n. 34.

⁴⁰ Cf. Lang *supra*, n. 23, esp. p. 210.

⁴¹ S. Deger-Jalkotzy, «The Women of PY An 607», *Minos* 13, 1972, p. 140, n. 9.

⁴² *Interpretation*, pp. 227-228, 442.

⁴³ *People II*, pp. 127-129.

organisation of a Mycenaean palace state⁴⁴. Many years ago, M. Lejeune⁴⁵, C.R. Ruijgh⁴⁶, K. Wundsam⁴⁷ and others had further claimed that *qa-si-re-u* was the title of members of a local aristocracy, and this view has been firmly established among scholars of Ancient Greek History. In a profound treatise on Mycenaean rulership these two aspects were aptly integrated by T.G. Palaima into the following definition of *qa-si-re-u* to which I would subscribe:

...the title *qa-si-re-u* then can be interpreted as local chieftains in the purest sense, i.e. figures who derive their authority and privileges from society as it developed on this level, and who had local responsibilities that might, in some cases, involve the central palatial administration. Otherwise they would perform purely local duties and derive their status from their local communities, although that status might be enhanced by their intermittent contacts with representatives of the bureaucratic hierarchy of the central palace⁴⁸.

It has been further suggested that these local chieftains were the successors to the elite groups who had held sway over the small polities which formed the geographical map of the Early Mycenaean Age. When the Mycenaean palace system emerged several of those petty principalities were incorporated into the territory of a Mycenaean palace kingdom, and their rulers were reduced to the status of a small-scale, local aristocracy⁴⁹. Under these premises, *A-pi-qo-ta* has to be seen as a local dignitary whose functions in connection with the smiths of the Jn series were apparently connected with his responsibilities vis-à-vis the central authority of the palace⁵⁰, and the same applies to the other two *qa-si-re-we* who figure in the Jn texts. Was the same true of *A-pi-qo-ta*'s association with the *ke-ro-si-ja* of PY An 261?

I think the answer may be sought in the genitive of *ke-ro-si-ja* in An 261.13-17. The five men listed there are characterised as 'of the *ke-ro-si-ja* of *A-pi-qo-ta*'. This by itself does not imply that the *ke-ro-si-ja* actually stayed at Pylos nor

⁴⁴ For a full range of references to studies into the significance of the term *qa-si-re-u* (including associated forms of the word) and to the status of its holders see *DMic II*, pp. 189-191 s.v.

⁴⁵ Lejeune *supra*, n. 23, p. 183.

⁴⁶ *Études*, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁷ K. Wundsam, *Die politische und soziale Struktur in den mykenischen Residenzen nach den Linear B Texten*, Vienna, 1968, pp. 111-117.

⁴⁸ T.G. Palaima, «The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions», *Ruler*, pp. 119-139, esp. pp. 123-125.

⁴⁹ Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy *supra*, n. 27; Ead., «Mykenische Herrschaftsformen ohne Paläste und die griechische Polis», *Politeia*, pp. 367-377, esp. pp. 371-373. Cf. also Lejeune *supra*, n. 23, p. 183, and Wundsam *supra*, n. 47, pp. 111-117.

⁵⁰ For a discussion cf. *People I*, pp. 126-130.

that *A-pi-qo-ta* himself was there. It rather served to identify these men as belonging to a certain social group of which *A-pi-qo-ta* was the head. As we have seen, *ke-ro-si-ja* appears to be connected with the population of some peripheral districts of the kingdom, and it is, in fact, there that *A-pi-qo-ta*'s presence is attested by Jn 431. Against this it could be argued that *O-two-we*, chief of another *ke-ro-si-ja*, recurs in Vn 851.9 and therefore must have been at Pylos. It is, however, striking that except for *O-two-we* himself, no member of his *ke-ro-si-ja* of An 261.2-5 recurs together with him on Vn 851 nor on any other text referring to Pylos. The same seems to have been true of the other *ke-ro-si-ja* groups. There is a possibility that besides *O-two-we* in Vn 851.14 the name]*ra-i-jo* refers to *A-ra-i-jo* of *A-pi-jo-to ke-ro-si-ja* (An 261.8), while one of the *na-u-do-mo* of Vn 865 (.6: *A-wa-ne-u*) has perhaps the same name as]*wa-ne-u* of **Ta-we-si-jo ke-ro-si-ja* (An 261.12). However, it remains a fact that no name of any other *ke-ro-si-ja* chief recurs in texts referring to the centre at Pylos. This could be explained in terms of lack of evidence. But even if we presume that *A-pi-qo-ta*, *A-pi-jo* and **Ta-we-si-jo* were present at the palace, there is no evidence that they operated *together* with the men of their respective *ke-ro-si-ja*. It thus appears that the 18 men named in PY An 261 were assembled from four different *ke-ro-si-ja* in order to form a group who had to fulfil a mission at the centre in Pylos. But they did not perform their task under the direction of their respective *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs. From this it follows that the meaning of *ke-ro-si-ja* cannot have been 'working team' nor 'craftsman's establishment'⁵¹.

It is here that I think that we may grasp a major difference between *ke-ro-si-ja* and *qa-si-re-wi-ja*⁵². These latter groups performed, under the leadership of a *qa-si-re-u*, certain obligations for the central authority of the state and received food rations in return⁵³. Texts like PY Fn 50, Fn 867 and KN As (2) 1516 suggest that these teams were at least sometimes present at the palaces, and that their *qa-si-re-we* were together with them. Their connections with certain products⁵⁴ and with certain occupations⁵⁵ indicate that a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* group

⁵¹ On account of the close connection of the *ke-ro-si-ja* personnel with craftsmanship and particularly with bronze-working, L.R. Palmer connected the word etymologically with χείρ, resorting to explaining it as a derivate of a word which he reconstructed as *χείρων (*Interpretation*, pp. 228-229).

⁵² On this term, cf. *People* II, pp. 126-130 and most recently P.Carlier, «*Qa-si-re-u et qa-si-re-wi-ja*», *Politeia*, pp. 355-364.

⁵³ For a synopsis of analyses put forward for the texts, see the entries in *DMic* II, s.v. To these add Carlier *supra*, n. 52.

⁵⁴ E.g. regarding products which had to be produced and/or delivered by *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, cf. Pa 398, 889 and perhaps KN B 875.

⁵⁵ P. Carlier *supra*, n. 52, underlines the appearance of *qa-si-re-wi-ja* in religious contexts. It is likely that the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* groups associated in KN As (2) 1516 with a group of men placed under the leadership of the *ra-wa-ke-ta* had also been assembled for a certain duration of time.

was established for at least a certain duration of time. By contrast, the men of An 261 may well have been assembled *ad hoc* from the four *ke-ro-si-ja*. In fact, the perf. pple. act. *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* of the heading could well signify that they had finished the task which had been assigned to them (cf. *supra*, p. 67).

Under these premises, both *qa-si-re-wi-ja* and *ke-ro-si-ja* designated groups of men who originated from the local level of the provinces of a Mycenaean kingdom. But while the operations of *qa-si-re-wi-ja* seem to have been directly related to the organisation of labour and to the economy *within* the Mycenaean palace system, *ke-ro-si-ja* remained *outside* of this sphere. May we then assume that *ke-ro-si-ja* was a term which refers to the socio-political conditions of the local districts which were normally not mentioned by the central bureaucrats at Pylos?

This brings us back to *A-pi-qo-ta* who connects the term *ke-ro-si-ja* of An 261 with his position of a *qa-si-re-u* in Jn 431.6 and with the personnel of the Jn series. This latter link is strengthened by the other prosopographical associations between An 261 and the Jn texts which have been evaluated above. It is therefore also justifiable to draw on the term *ke-ro-te* of Jn 881.4 which is commonly explained as a nom. plur. masc., although a dat. sing. masc. cannot be ruled out⁵⁶. This word seems to be related to the adjective *ke-ro-ta* (neut. plur.) which in KN Ld 785, 786 and 788 serves as a description of cloth for which in KN Ln 1568 in an analogous context the word *pa-ra-ja* 'old' is used. Thus there is no warrant to reject the etymological connection of *ke-ro-te* with γέρων, which in Jn 881.4 either stands for */gerontei/* 'to the elder' or, as has been already put forward by Ventris and Chadwick, for */gerontes/* 'elders'⁵⁷. *Ke-ro-si-ja* may then be accepted as */geronsia/* γερουσία⁵⁸, signifying an 'assembly of elders' or a 'council of elders'.

The strong connections of the men of An 261 with bronzeworking and craftsmanship (cf. *supra*, p. 72) has induced various authors to associate the terms *qa-si-re-u*, *ke-ro-si-ja* and *ke-ro-te* exclusively with metals and with bronzeworking in particular. However, this exclusiveness is not supported by the evidence of the texts⁵⁹. It may therefore seem indeed preferable to view the

⁵⁶ *DMic* I, pp. 351-352 s.v. Jn 881, recently joined by Bennett *supra*, n. 4, p. 119, with Jn 896, is heavily damaged; however, the paragraph concerning *ke-ro-te* also refers to *a-to-mo* (Jn 881.6) which in view of Jo 438 should be accepted as the singular of a title.

⁵⁷ *Documents*, p. 553.

⁵⁸ *Documents*, pp. 122, 172, 421.

⁵⁹ Cf. the warnings expressed by Lindgren *supra*, n. 18, II, p. 129, and the objections raised by P. Carlier *supra*, n. 52, p. 356. We just mention that Jn 829 does not list *qa-si-re-u* among the government officials who were responsible for the delivery of *ka-ko na-wi-jo*. By contrast, Jo 438 which is now unanimously accepted as referring to local dignitaries contains a *qa-si-re-u* in line .20, and on *lat.sin.* a man is listed who is designated as *a-to-mo*, i.e. the same title as connected in Jn 881 with *ke-ro-te*; see also J. Chadwick, this volume.

terms *qa-si-re-u*, *ke-ro-te* and *ke-ro-si-ja* as pertaining to the *social organisation* of the people who were registered in the Jn texts and in An 261. The later semantic developments of these terms lead to the conclusion that in the Mycenaean period, too, there existed societies which were based on *kin groups* (*sibs*) which were subdivided into descent groups (lineages? ramages?⁶⁰). This view is further supported by a fact well known to historians and ethnographers that in many societies the social organisation of smiths consisted of kin groups or even pseudo-kin groups (castes)⁶¹, and this may further explain why in the administrative records of Pylos concerning taxation (Ma series), landholding (Na series) and labour (An 129; An 607; An 261? [*infra*, p. 79]) the *ka-ke-we* are separately treated as a collective. However, from this it must not be inferred that in the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos only the smiths were organised in kin groups. It only means that the kin groups formed by the smiths were listed separately from communities like e.g. the */damos*⁶². There is no reason for taking *a-ke-ro qa-si-re-u* of Jo 438.20 for a smith, nor did the services rendered by the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* groups necessarily consist of the work of smiths. In view of the highly developed social structure of the Early Mycenaean period which had formed the background of this organisation⁶³, it may be further assumed that it was a ranked society, and that *qa-si-re-u* should not be seen in terms of a 'headman', but as a chieftain and leader of his kin group. *Ke-ro-si-ja* then would signify a (governing) body consisting of 'senior', that is to say the most distinguished⁶⁴ members of a kin

⁶⁰ The existence of patrilineages could be suggested by mentions of *i-**65 'son' not only in Jn 431.6 and 725.8, but also in Ae 344, Aq 64.7, Aq 218.16, i.e. in texts which obviously refer to the provincial regions of the Pylos kingdom. But note that for the thirteen women of PY An 607 the descent from the paternal, as well as from the maternal side is recorded.

⁶¹ Cf. e.g. M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes*, Paris, 1977; G. Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika. Ihre soziale Stellung in traditionellen Gesellschaften*, s.l., 1979; E.W. Herbert, *Iron, Gender and Power*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1993.

⁶² The word *sib*, derived from German 'Sippe', was introduced by American anthropologists as a technical term for a clan who has no residential area of its own and whose members do not therefore derive their coherence from a local or residential basis. This distinguishes a *sib* from local groups like clan or extended family (which latter types could well have been compatible with a */damos*/community). I owe the information used in this paragraph to Professor Justin Stagl to whom I am grateful for discussing with me the socio-political aspects of this paper. Possible errors remain mine.

⁶³ Cf. *supra*, p. 73 and notes 48 and 49.

⁶⁴ This does not imply old age, although distinction may have been related with personal achievements and with life experience. Considering that the average life expectancy of Bronze Age male populations was about 35-40 years, the term 'elder' would have referred to men who were, in fact, neither old nor senile but of an advanced adult age.

group, who were perhaps the representatives of descent groups. In the case of the smiths it is, indeed, conceivable that 'senior' designated highly qualified and experienced craftsmen, as M. Lindgren has suggested⁶⁵ and that *ke-ro-si-ja* was a body formed by such men.

Our analysis has thus arrived at the conclusion that *A-pi-qo-ta*'s function in connection with the men of his *ke-ro-si-ja* named in An 261.13-17 consisted in selecting these men and sending them to Pylos. Perhaps he even accompanied them. But he did not work with them, just as in Jn 431.6 he is not recorded as having had himself received *ta-ra-si-ja* of bronze. It therefore appears that *qa-si-re-u A-pi-qo-ta* was held responsible to ensure that certain services which the central authority demanded from his kin group were duly performed⁶⁶.

From the qualification of *A-pi-qo-ta* as *qa-si-re-u*, Ventris and Chadwick have concluded that the other *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs of An 261, too, were *qa-si-re-we*⁶⁷. This interpretation was rejected by L.R. Palmer⁶⁸. Other authors either joined one of these alternatives or preferred to leave the question open. Our own interpretation starts from the fact that the four *ke-ro-si-ja* of PY An 261 were *identified* by the genitive of the personal names associated with them. From this it follows that these four men must have been outstanding members of their social groups which, as we have seen, lived in a fairly extensive region stretching from the hinterland of *a-ke-re-wa* to the Further Province. It is therefore, indeed, as P. Carlier pointed out⁶⁹, surprising that only three *qa-si-re-we* are mentioned in the Jn texts. Carlier concluded that the association of *qa-si-re-u* with the smiths was an occasional one. It may be differently argued that the number of *qa-si-re-we* depended on how many kin groups there existed among the smiths. M. Lindgren for her part searched the Jn texts for possible further *qa-si-re-we*⁷⁰. In this connection it is perhaps useful to pay attention to *Pa-qo-si-jo* and to *E-ri-ko-wo*, the two other *qa-si-re-we* of the Jn texts. *Pa-qo-si-jo* was a *qa-si-re-u*, according to Jn 601.8, at *po-wi-te-ja*. The same text has the name of *O-na-se-u* which recurs in Jn 725.4 as that of a colleague of *O-two-we*. In Jn 310.8, *Pa-qo-si-jo* recurs at *a-ke-re-wa* as a smith without *ta-ra-si-ja*, in the same group where *A₃-so-ni-jo* of An 261.13 had *ta-ra-si-ja*. He even recurs a third time, in Jn 832.10. Similarly *E-ri-ko-wo* was a *qa-si-re-u* in Jn 845.7 (place-name missing) and recurs in Jn 944.3. Since we are inclined to understand these cross-references in

⁶⁵ Lindgren *supra*, n. 18, II, p. 79.

⁶⁶ See also Palaima *supra*, n. 48.

⁶⁷ *Documents*², p. 172.

⁶⁸ *Interpretation*, p. 228.

⁶⁹ Carlier *supra*, n. 52, p. 356.

⁷⁰ Lindgren *supra*, n. 18, II, pp. 127-128, suggests *To-sa-no* of Jn 431.25 and *A-ta-o* of Jn 431.23 as candidates for *qa-si-re-u* status.

terms of mobility of smiths rather than as homonyms⁷¹, we understand that these two men in one context had the function of a *qa-si-re-u*, while in other places they worked as smiths. It therefore seems attractive to assume that the three *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs besides *A-pi-go-ta* may have been named as *qa-si-re-we* in texts which have not been preserved. In view of the incomplete number of the Jn texts this proposition does not seem impossible⁷².

However, in view of the scanty evidence on *qa-si-re-u* and *ke-ro-si-ja*, it is futile to elaborate further on this matter. We have to content ourselves with the view that *qa-si-re-u* was the head of a kin group and *ke-ro-si-ja* was a body of senior representatives of the kin group. The four *ke-ro-si-ja* leaders therefore seem to have been either *qa-si-re-we* or played at least a leading part within the *ke-ro-si-ja*⁷³.

A few questions remain to be considered. Firstly, what actually was the business of the men of PY An 261 at Pylos? As to this, in my opinion the key is provided by the entry *ka-ma-e-we* 10 which Hand 1 so faithfully transferred from An 616 to An 261⁷⁴. Many years ago, I defined *ka-ma-e-u* as a holder of a sizeable piece of /*damos*/-land (either a *ka-ma* or a larger *o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*) for which in return he/she was obliged to perform an obligation called *wo-ze-e*, 'work'⁷⁵. Later on, I suggested that *wo-ze-e* be understood in terms of forced labour, *corvée*, i.e. manual work, as well as of taxation⁷⁶, and this interpretation seems to have found wide acceptance. In this view, the 10 *ka-ma-e-we* of PY An 261 were holders of /*damos*/-land who performed their service of *wo-ze-e*, apparently at the palace centre. It may therefore be assumed that the entries concerning the *ke-ro-si-ja* people had a similar background. However, they were neatly set off from the *ka-ma-e-we* entry both on An 261 and on An/Un 616⁷⁷. We therefore tentatively suggest that the *ke-ro-si-ja* entries of An 261 referred to men who were under the obligation to 'work' for (and at) the palace, but apparently under a different title from the *ka-ma-e-we*. On the basis of our analysis it seems likely that this title was based on their trade as smiths, as

⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 69-70, and de Fidio *supra*, n. 28.

⁷² Cf. *supra*, n. 29.

⁷³ It is impossible to embark at this point on the problem of *qa-]si-re-wi-jo-te* of PY Aq 64. Suffice it to note that this word may have also had a bearing on the complex subject of the organisation of kin groups.

⁷⁴ See *supra*, p. 66.

⁷⁵ S. Deger-Jalkotzy, *E-QE-TA. Zur Rolle des Gefolgschaftswesens in der Sozialstruktur mykenischer Reiche*, Vienna, 1978, pp. 65-70.

⁷⁶ S. Deger-Jalkotzy, «Zum Charakter und zur Herausbildung der mykenischen Sozialstruktur», *Res Mycenaeae*, pp. 98-99. P. de Fidio, «Il ricapitolativo Ed e i sistemi di misura micenei», *Kadmos* 22, 1983, pp. 14-39, esp. pp. 5-27, was able to demonstrate that *wo-ze-e*, indeed, comprised the delivery of taxes.

⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 67.

well as on their affiliation to kin groups which were differentiated from */damos/* communities.

A further clue may be provided by the number of 18 men whose names are listed in the nominative. They are strongly suggestive of the five groups of men listed on tablet PY An 1282 which was found in the Northeast workshop of the Palace. It has been observed long ago that the original strength of each group was 18 men and that they were apparently assigned to works connected with chariot equipment and with harness⁷⁸. It was I. Tegyei who offered a most plausible interpretation of this text as a registration list of men who “were assigned to the Northeast workshop as a kind of forced labor”. Tegyei further suggested that these men may have come from several provincial sites⁷⁹. This interpretation tallies well with our conclusions drawn from the evidence of An 261. The 18 men of this text, too, may be viewed as a labour group. It consisted of senior smiths, members of four *ke-ro-si-ja*, who came from a provincial region which we have defined above (*supra*, pp. 71-72). The archaeological evidence of the Northeast workshop at Pylos and the text Ja 1288 which was also found in this architectural complex undoubtedly attest to the presence of bronzesmiths working at the palace centre⁸⁰. This evidence is strengthened by PY An 129.7-8 where *pa-ro ka-ke-u-si* not only testifies to the presence of smiths in Pylos, but also provides another instance of their treatment as a collective group. L.R. Palmer and S. Hiller have moreover drawn attention to the cross-references between the names listed on PY An 1281 (a text dealing with a workshop which was apparently connected to a shrine of */potnia/*) and the names of smiths of the Jn tablets⁸¹, while some links between the personnel of An 261 and some texts from the Northeast workshop have been mentioned above (*supra*, p. 72).

In short, it is highly probable that the men of An 261 were smiths who had been sent to Pylos where they formed a labour gang of professionals. It is therefore tempting to suggest that the first word written on the heading in the large characters of Hand 43, and of which *-we* has been preserved, consisted of three signs and that it was *ka-ke-*-we**⁸².

There remain some loose ends which cannot be tied up. This is particularly true of the entries of Hand 1 on An 261 v. 4-7, because it is impossible to decide whether *ke-ro-si-ja* was in the genitive or in the nominative. If e.g. *a-pi-qo-ta-o*

⁷⁸ For references, see Tegyei, *supra*, n. 38, pp. 69-70.

⁷⁹ Tegyei, *supra*, n. 38, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁰ Tegyei, *supra*, n. 38, pp. 71-79.

⁸¹ *Interpretation*, pp. 226-227; S. Hiller, «Mykenische Heiligtümer: Das Zeugnis der Linear B-Texte», in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Stockholm, 1981, pp. 95-125, esp. pp. 106-107.

⁸² See above, pp. 67-68; This completion of the heading has been already considered in *Interpretation*, p. 426.

ke-ro-si-ja stands for 'the /*geronsia*/ of /*Amphiontas*/', VIR 17 could be understood as counting all members of the *ke-ro-si-ja*. The entry then could be taken, for example, as a basis of assessment in the sense of how many *corvée* workers could be demanded from this group. If, however, the phrase stands for 'of the /*geronsia*/ of A', the entry VIR 17 could be understood as the total of the members of this gang who had already worked at Pylos. There is no way of telling whether or not the totals written in the *verso* also comprised the 18 individuals listed by their names. And further does the entry of v.9 mean that among the men of the *ke-ro-si-ja* there were also landholders of *ka-ma* who therefore worked under the obligation of *wo-ze-e*? Or did the *ka-ma-e-we* form a supplementary group assigned to work together with the smiths?

We have to draw to a close. It is proposed to understand PY An 261 as a register of a labour group of smiths. On the analogy of the term *ka-ma-e-we* written on v.9 it is further assumed that they performed obligatory labour, *corvée*. The origin of these men was not indicated by place-names but by the term *ke-ro-si-ja* which seems to refer to a social organisation based on kin groups (*sibs*). *Ke-ro-si-ja* is tentatively interpreted as /*geronsia*/, designating a body which consisted of senior members of a kin group who may have been the heads of descent groups. At the head of each *ke-ro-si-ja* — and, in fact, at the head of the entire kin group concerned — was a *qa-si-re-u/g^uasileus*/ or a man of a comparable rank⁸³. The 18 men of An 261 were characterised as 'of a *ke-ro-si-ja*' which may be taken as a specification relating to their affiliation. In fact, they were defined as *members* of the *ke-ro-si-ja*, /*gerontes*/. This senior rank may further explain why they were listed individually by their personal names, differently from e.g. the five groups of men listed collectively on PY An 1282. Judging by the names of the four *ke-ro-si-ja* chiefs — among whom there was at least one *qa-si-re-u* — they were at home in a fairly extensive region which stretched between the Hither and the Further provinces at *a-ke-re-wa* level. Except for *O-two-we* who recurs in Vn 851, there is no indication that the chiefs of the *ke-ro-si-ja* also stayed at Pylos. If so, they did not operate together with the members of their groups. It is therefore preferable to envisage that the highly qualified smiths were selected by the *ke-ro-si-ja* or the chief and dispatched to Pylos where they were assembled into a group of 18 — apparently a standard number — professional workers. Their mission was described by way of the introductory line of An 261 which we read as *ka-ke-]we ke-ke-tu-wo-e*. We do not know what the verbal stem of *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* was⁸⁴, but it must have indicated why or for what purpose these men had been assembled. If we correctly interpret the perf. pple. act. and if we consider that the tablet was found in the

⁸³ Cf. *supra*, n. 73.

⁸⁴ For attempts to interpret this word cf. *DMic* I, p. 340 s.v.

Archive Complex, we may arrive at the conclusion that the men concerned had already finished their work and perhaps were no longer in Pylos.

In this sense PY An 261 may be accepted as pertaining to a sector of production and of administration which may have also formed the background of, for example, the texts found in the Northeast workshop, of Jn 829 and of certain Vn tablets. It also offers an insight into the organisation of obligatory labour which had to be rendered to the central authority of the palace by the population of the districts.

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ADDENDUM: My thanks are due to Prof. M. Peters, Vienna, for drawing my attention to R. Plath, «Mykenisch *ke-ke-tu-wo-e*: Überlegungen zur einleitenden Formulierung der Tafel PY An 261», *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 50, 1989, pp.103-122. Plath reminds us that in Mycenaean Greek the perf. ppl. act. had a *passive* meaning. He accepts *ka-ke-we ke-ke-tu-wo-e* in the sense of */khalkēwes khe-kheth-woh-es/*, 'smiths who were brought together, united'. This interpretation meets well with our views on PY An 261.